

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 HA-05 SOE-02 AF-10
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INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY

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USSALTTWO/CTB

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, SOPN

SUBJECT: MARCH 30 ROUNDUP: PRESS ITEMS OF ARMS CONTROL
INTEREST

LONDON FOR AMB/EX, SOFIA FOR AMBASSADOR

1. DAVID K. SHIPLER OF NEW YORK TIMES REPORTED FROM
MOSCOW THAT AT HEART OF CURRENT STRAINS BETWEEN U.S. AND
USSR, "WHICH MAY BE WORST IN LAST FIVE OR SIX YEARS, IS
SET OF DIFFERENCES OVER BASIC ISSUES, MOSTLY MILITARY AND
IDEOLOGICAL CONCERNS, WHICH ARE FAIRLY PERMANENT FEATURES
OF SOVIET-AMERICAN COMPETITION." SHIPLER SAID THESE
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INCLUDE "APPREHENSION ABOUT MILITARY CAPABILITIES, ARMS
RACE, AND CONTRASTS IN POLITICAL SYSTEMS AS REFLECTED IN
ATTITUDES TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS. BEYOND THAT RUNS DISAGREE-
MENT OVER WHAT DETENTE SHOULD BE. RUSSIANS' DEFINITION IS
NARROW, FOCUSING ON ISSUES OF ARMS CONTROL AND TRADE, AND
EXCLUDING ANY EXPANSION OF INFLUENCE IN THIRD WORLD."
TIMES CORRESPONDENT SAID "CHEMISTRY BETWEEN SOVIET LEADER-

SHIP AND CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN BAD FROM START. RUSSIANS APPEAR TO HAVE FOUND ALMOST NO RAPPORT WITH PRESIDENT. TO THEM HE REMAINS NEARLY ENIGMA HE WAS WHEN HE ENTERED WHITE HOUSE 14 MONTHS AGO. AS SEEN FROM MOSCOW, HIS FOREIGN POLICY LOOKS SHAPELESS, CONTRADICTORY, UNPRE-

DICTABLE, OVERLY RESPONSIVE TO HOSTILE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CURRENTS THAT ARE BRANDED HERE AS REMNANTS OF COLD WAR." HE SAID SOME OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW HAVE BEEN ASKING AMERICANS WHETHER CARTER REALLY WANTS NEW TREATY LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS. SHIPLER SAID MOSCOW ALSO IS CONCERNED OVER AMERICAN ATTEMPTS TO LINK ISSUES. "AMERICANS MAKE SUCH LINKAGES IN AN EFFORT TO DETER WHAT THEY CONSIDER SOVIET MISBEHAVIOR," HE POINTED OUT. "RUSSIANS COUNTER THAT ARMS CONTROL IS TOO CRUCIAL TO BE MADE DEPENDENT ON OTHER ISSUES. IN FACT, LINKAGE IS CONCEPT INVOKED AND REJECTED BY BOTH SIDES AS IT SUITS THEM.... IT MAY NOT BE RATIONAL BUT ISSUES UNRELATED IN SUBSTANCE DO IMPINGE ON ONE ANOTHER THROUGH POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF EACH COUNTRY.... SOME PRACTITIONERS OF DIPLOMATIC ART LIKE TO SEE IT MORE HOPEFULLY, LOOKING TO DAY WHEN TWO COUNTRIES TEMPER THEIR BEHAVIOR IN ONE FIELD TO AVOID NEGATIVE IMPACT ON OTHER ASPECTS. SO FAR, JOINING OF ISSUES HAS PRODUCED LITTLE LEVERAGE, AND SEPARATING THEM HAS SOMETIMES MEANT PROGRESS."

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2. COLUMNIST GEORGE WILL, WRITING IN WASHINGTON POST, SAID "CARTER PRESIDENCY MAY BE FIRST PRESIDENCY FATALLY WOUNDED BY FOREIGN POLICY IN PEACETIME.... ADMINISTRATION CONTINUALLY TRIES TO ACCOMMODATE IMPLACABLE FORCES." WILL RECALLED THAT ADMINISTRATION "BRIEFLY SEEMED TO WARN THAT SOVIET RESTRAINT IN AFRICA WOULD BE PRECONDITION FOR U.S. COOPERATION IN SALT. BUT EVEN BEFORE ADMINISTRATION BACKED AWAY FROM WARNING, WARNING WAS NOT CREDIBLE. ADMINISTRATION UNILATERALLY HAS SLOWED OR CURTAILED SO MANY ARMS PROGRAMS (FOR EXAMPLE, SEA-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILE, MX MISSILE AND B-1 BOMBER) THAT IT NOW WANTS AN AGREEMENT MORE THAN SOVIETS DO." HE CONTINUED: "PAUL WARNKE, CARTER'S CHIEF SALT NEGOTIATOR SAYS THERE HAS BEEN AN ARMS RACE BECAUSE U.S. AND SOVIET UNION ARE 'APES ON TREADMILL,' PERHAPS EQUALLY MINDLESS, BUT NOT EQUALLY CULPABLE. U.S. DESERVES SPECIAL BLAME BECAUSE IT IS ONLY SUPERPOWER 'MODEL' SOVIET UNION HAS. RECENTLY WARNKE EXPLAINED WHY ADMINISTRATION DID NOT INSIST THAT SOVIET SS-20 MISSILES BE COUNTED AGAINST SOVIET TOTALS PERMITTED UNDER AN ARMS AGREEMENT. SS-20 IS MOBILE, EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS AND DEPLOYED. IT HAS TWICE RANGE PERMITTED FOR U.S. CRUISE MISSILES UNDER TREATY WARNKE

IS NEGOTIATING. AND WITH ONE MIRV REMOVED, IT CAN STRIKE TARGETS IN U.S. WARNKE'S EXPLANATION INCLUDED THIS THOUGHT: 'IF WE WERE TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT SS-20, THEY WOULD INSIST ON NEGOTIATING ABOUT OUR THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES SUCH AS OUR FB111'S, WHICH ARE STATIONED IN UNITED KINGDOM AND CAN DEVASTATE SOVIET TARGETS.' BUT FB111'S ARE NOT STATIONED IN UNITED KINGDOM OR ANYWHERE

ELSE IN EUROPEAN THEATER. WHEN WARNKE WAS NOMINATED AS CHIEF SALT NEGOTIATOR, THERE WERE FEWER THAN TEN SENATORS PREPARED TO VOTE AGAINST HIS NOMINATION. AFTER HEARING HIS TESTIMONY AND EXAMINING HIS WRITINGS, 40 SENATORS VOTED AGAINST HIM. (A 41ST WAS 'PAIRED' AGAINST). AND CONTROVERSY ABOUT WARNKE AND HIS WORK IS NOT OVER.
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CARTER'S PANAMA VICTORY WAS FALSE DAWN. IT NEVER WAS LIKELY THAT THOSE TREATIES WOULD BE REJECTED. BUT IT HAS BEEN LIKELY FOR MANY MONTHS THAT SALT TREATY WARNKE HAS BEEN NEGOTIATING WILL BE SOUNDLY BEATEN. AN EXPERIENCED DEMOCRAT AND AN EXPERIENCED REPUBLICAN RECENTLY COUNTED VOTES ON THEIR SIDES AND CONCLUDED THAT THERE ARE FAR MORE THAN 34 VOTES NECESSARY TO DEFEAT SALT TREATY. CARTER MAY BE SLEEPWALKING TOWARD SHATTERING DEFEAT THAT WILL DO INCALCULABLE DAMAGE TO HIS PRESIDENCY."

3. UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL REPORTED THAT STATE DEPARTMENT IS STUDYING, "WITH ATTENTION USUALLY RESERVED FOR IMPORTANT STATE DOCUMENTS," THIS WEEK'S PRAVDA COMMENTARY BY GEORGI ARBATOV. UPI SAID SOVIET OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON STATED ARTICLE IS "AUTHORITATIVE" MEANING IT HAD DIRECT APPROVAL OF RULING POLITBURO. UPI REPORTED THAT "RUSSIAN OFFICIAL IN WASHINGTON, WHO REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT ARTICLE EXPRESSED CONCERNS OF SOVIET LEADERSHIP, SAID SOVIETS ARE GETTING IMPRESSION THAT ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED TO LET EVERYTHING SLIP-- INCLUDING NEW SALT AGREEMENT -- IN ITS OBSESSION WITH PANAMA CANAL TREATIES.

4. BERNARD GWERTZMAN OF NEW YORK TIMES SAID STATE DEPARTMENT DESCRIBED ARBATOV ARTICLE AS "SERIOUS, THOUGHTFUL COMMENTARY." GWERTZMAN SAID ARBATOV'S COMMENTARY "STRUCK RESPONSIVE CHORD WITHIN CARTER ADMINISTRATION, WHERE SUPPORTERS OF AN ARMS ACCORD HAVE BEEN MAKING MUCH SAME ARGUMENT. SOME OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN SAYING THAT CRUCIAL DECISIONS HAD TO BE MADE IN BOTH CAPITALS AND THEY WOULD IN EFFECT DETERMINE FUTURE COURSE OF RELATIONS. MR. ARBATOV SEEMED TO PUT ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECISIONSON U.S., AND OFFICIALS SAID THAT WHILE THEY
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AGREED THAT U.S. HAD TOUGH DECISIONS TO MAKE, SO DID RUSSIANS. COMMENTARY WAS ALSO JUDGED IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT CAME AT TIME WHEN U.S. LEARNED THAT REVIEW OF RELATIONS WITH U.S. WAS UNDER WAY IN MOSCOW." GWERTZMAN SAID SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN RETURNED TO MOSCOW TWO WEEKS AGO FOR CONSULTATIONS, CARRYING "NUMBER OF PROPOSALS AND POLICY PAPERS" FROM SECRETARY VANCE. "OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT MR. ARBATOV HAD GROUNDS TO COMPLAIN ABOUT SLOW PACE OF ARMS NEGOTIATIONS. WITH THREE MAJOR ISSUES AND DOZEN MINOR POINTS YET TO BE RESOLVED, U.S.

HAS MADE NO PROPOSALS FOR SOME TIME, ONE OFFICIAL SAID. ONE OFFICIAL SAID THAT VLADIMIR S. SEMYONOV, SOVIET DELEGATE AT ARMS NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, COMPLAINED ABOUT WEEK AGO THAT U.S. WAS STALLING. BUT OFFICIALS SAID MR. CARTER HAD ASSURED MR. VANCE THAT ADMINISTRATION WOULD PRESS FOR AN AGREEMENT AND THAT OFFICIALS WERE NOW REVIEWING AMERICAN NEGOTIATING POSITION."

5. TAKASHI OKA OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR REPORTED FROM LONDON THAT "WHILE WASHINGTON SHOWS SIGNS OF INCREASING IMPATIENCE WITH ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES AND SOVIET UNION SHRILLY PROCLAIMS ITS OPPOSITION, ATTITUDE OF NATO'S EUROPEAN MEMBERS REMAINS WHAT IT HAS BEEN THROUGH DELICATE MONTHS OF TRANSATLANTIC CONSULTATIONS: DECISION TO PRODUCE NEUTRON BOMB IS FOR U.S. AND U.S. ALONE TO MAKE. DEPLOYMENT OF NEUTRON BOMB IN EUROPE MUST BE AN ALLIANCE DECISION, MOST IMPORTANT ALLIES INVOLVED ARE ONES ON WHOSE TERRITORY WEAPON WOULD BE DEPLOYED, OR WHO HAVE FORCES IN THAT AREA: WEST GERMANY, BRITAIN, BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS." COOPER

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